Vol. XLIV NEW SERIES No. 2

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

OCTOBER 1953
PUBLISHED BY THE MYTHIC SOCIETY
AT THE DALY MEMORIAL HALL, CENOTAPH ROAD, BANGALORE-2.

America $. 1.50 India Rs. 2-8-0 Foreign 4 Sh. 8 d.

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Vol. XLIV] OCTOBER 1953 [No. 2

MUTTARAIYAR-NADU

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

It is well-known that the early Cōḷas were rulers of Uṟaiyūr and the region watered by the Kāvērī with their capital at Kōḻi, which was the other name of Uṟaiyūr near Tirucchirāppaḷḷi. That Karikāla, the builder of the embankments to the Kāvērī in the Tirucchirāppaḷḷi district, ruled at first from Uṟaiyūr but subsequently abandoned that capital and shifted to the far off coastal town of Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam *alias* Puhār is evident from Tamil literature. His abandonment of the earlier capital and the adoption of a new one has a significance which has not been fully appreciated. The abandonment of the internal capital must have been brought about by political as well as strategic necessities. That this great Cōḷa king crossed swords with the Iruṅgōvēḷs, the chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr, is mentioned in Tamil works.[1] The region of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam which was to the immediate north of the Kōnāḍu of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs must have been the target of attack by the Iruṅgōvēḷs. They were subsequently defeated by Karikāla. That king was also engaged in the conquest of the northern kings, *i.e.* the Pallavas. As such he required a capital like Puhār. Here perhaps we may see the circumstances that

1. *Pattinappālai* line 282.

drove him to leave Uṟaiyūr and adopt Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṉam. Ever since this abandonment, the revived Cōḷas who came after Vijayālaya did not prefer it but chose to strengthen Tañjāvūr and made it their capital. This was because Tañjāvūr was also the chosen capital of the Muttaraiyar from whom they wrested it along with the entire country which was under their rule.

The conquest of Maḻa-nāḍu by the Iruṅgōvēḷ Vīratuṅga is known from the Mūvarkōyil inscription [2] of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief which necessarily implies that the region of the Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam, a strip of country lying between Maḻa-nāḍu and Kōnāḍu of the Koḍumbāḷūr family, was also conquered.

The defeat of the Iruṅgōvēḷ chiefs and the conquest of their capital Koḍumbai (*i.e.* Koḍumbāḷūr) is prominently brought out in one of the verses in praise of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ, found at Sendalai.[3] A Koḍumbāḷūr chief figures as a servant of Māṟapiḍuvaṉār in the fifth year inscription of Dantivarman at Kunnāṇḍār-kōyil [4] in the dominion of the Iruṅgōvēḷs.

The description of the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu as the conqueror of the Cōḷa country which was sanctified by the waters of the Kāvērī and the facts that the Kāvērī is called the beloved of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I, that Pallava Paramēs'vara I defeated the invader, the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya I, at Peruvaḷa-nallūr north of Lalgudi and forced him to fly covered only with a rag, that Mahēndramaṅgalam was the other name of Srīnivāsa-nallūr in the Musiri taluk, that Nandivarmamaṅgalam was the ancient name of Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ Tirumalai near Tirucchirāppaḷḷi, that Nayadhimaṅgalam was a place in Tiruppiḍavūr-nāḍu in the Lalgudi taluk and that this place was named evidently after Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, that Vayiramēga Vāykkāl was the name of a channel near Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai called evidently after Dantivarman's surname, that Dantivarmamaṅgalam was the name of Ālampākkam in the Lalgudi taluk, that Nandivarman III

2. *Pudukotta Inscriptions* No. 14.
3. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. P. 142.B.
4. *Pudukotta Inscriptions* No. 17.

was called the lord of the region watered by the Kāvēri[5] in the *Nandikkalambagam* sung in praise of him and that Nṛpatuṅga-maṅgalam was a place in Pācchil-kūṟṟam in the Lalgudi taluk—are all evidences which prove conclusively that the entire region of the modern Tirucchirāppaḷḷi district was in continuous possession of successive Pallava kings. Besides these, the architectural vestiges of the Pallava rule and the presence of many inscriptions of Mahēndra, Dantivarman, Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga amply confirm the same fact, *viz.* that inspite of the existence of some evidences of the invasions of other kings during this period, the Pallavas were in continuous possession of the region from *circa* A.D. 600 to A.D. 875.

That the Cōḻas lost their power, position and the vast kingdom due to the southward expansion of the powerful Pallavas of Kāñcī is by now clear. The vanquished Cōḻas had to remain content in a very weak and subordinate position under the conquerors with their royal residence at Paḻaiyāṟu in the Kumbakonam taluk.

In the maintenance of the southern acquisitions as well as in the effective persecution of the Pāṇḍya who was making incessant attempts to establish his supremacy over the Pallava, the mighty power of the Muttaraiyars who figured as the Pallava subordinates from times earlier than Paramēs'varavarman II was of great avail. Kāḍakka Muttaraiyar was at the Pallava capital of Kāñcī and figured as one of the important personages that received the newly elected Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla and took an active part in his coronation. The subsequent history of the Pallavas reveals that they were ably assisted by the chiefs of the Muttaraiyar family in marching against the forces of the Pāṇḍya and winning victories over him. The Sendalai inscriptions[6] show clearly the part played by the chief, Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyar *alias* Suvaran Māṟaṉ, in the wars of the Pallava against the Pāṇḍya and the victories he gained over the Pāṇḍya adversary at

5. காவிரிசூழ் திரு நாடுடைய நந்தி ; கரைபொருது இழிதரு • காவிரி வளநாடன்.

6. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XIII. Pp. 134 ff.

Maṉalūr, Tiṅgalūr and other places in the Tañjāvūr district and at Koḍumbāḷūr, Annalvāyil and Sampoṉmāri and other places. The location of these places show that the Pāṇḍya had made a stride into the Tañjāvūr district and that not only was he effectively beaten back but that he was pursued and defeated in his own country. That Rājasimha, the contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla vanquished the Pallava at several places like Kuḷumūr, Neduvāyil, Kurumaḍai, Maṉṉaikkuricchi, Tirumaṅgai, Pūvalūr, Koḍumbāḷūr and Saṅkaramaṅgai is only a direct confirmation of this Pāṇḍya invasion and subsequent retreat into his own country.

The location of the territory which was governed by these powerful subordinates of the Pallavas, is made easy from some references in the Sendalai verse epigraphs, which were incised in their times and in some Pallava inscriptions. That the Muttaraiyar chief, Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ *alias* Suvaraṉ Māṟaṉ was called '*Tañjaikkōṉ*' and '*Vallakkōṉ*' meaning that he was the Lord of Tañjāvūr and Vallam, shows that Tañjāvūr and Vallam about seven miles south-west of Tañjāvūr were principal cities in his kingdom. The inscriptions being found at Sendalai on pillars which were originally at Nēmam near it, prove that Sendalai and Nēmam were inside his country. Thus Eyi-nāḍu in which were Sendalai and Nēmam, Valla nāḍu in which was Vallam, and Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam in which was Tañjāvūr were parts of the Muttaraiyār-nāḍu. The fact that the first feat of Vijayālaya was the defeat of the Muttaraiyar by the capture of Tañjai from them is direct evidence for the inference that they were in possession of Tañjāvūr and the territory round it which was called Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam till their final disappearance.

One of the inscriptions at Sendalai proves that Sembula-nāḍu was a subdivision of the country of Tañjai and that Veṉkōḍal was a place in it where the Muttaraiyar chief obtained a victory over the enemy.[7]

An inscription of Nṛpatuṅga at Uttaramallūr [8] discloses the fact that Vijayanallūḷāṉ Kādavadiyaraiyaṉ *alias* Pūdi Dhīraṉ

7. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. P. 149.
8. *S. I. I.* Vol. V. No. 368.

hailed from Kūkūr which was in Viḷā-nāḍu in the western portion (*Mī-kūṟu*) of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu. The identity of this Kūkūr with the place of the same name on the northern bank of the Coleroon in the Lalgudi taluk, in the region in which other places of Viḷā-nāḍu are found, shows that the Mī-kūṟu or western part of the Muttarriyar-nāḍu included within it places to the north of the Coleroon and doubtless the entire region of Viḷā-nāḍu.

A reference found in the same Pallava king's record at Lalgudi shows that the region round Lalgudi was called Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu. Kavirappoṟkaṭṭiyūr and Muttaiyil are found placed inside this nāḍu in his inscriptions dated in the second and the twenty-third regnal years.[9] Epigraphs found in the same place prove that this Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu included Javanthināthapuram and Viḍayāttimaṅgalam to the west of Kūkūr. Other references also show that Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu contained Lalgudi, Mummuḍis'ōḷamaṅgalam and places in the vicinity of Kūkūr and Mummudis'ōḷamaṅgalam, like Sāttamaṅgalam, Tirumuṉamēdu, Javanthināthapuram and Viḍayāttimaṅgalam. The location of these places in the Lalgudi taluk, in close proximity to Kūkūr of Viḷā nāḍu makes it plain that the former, *i.e.* Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu was perhaps a part of the latter *i.e.* Viḷā-nāḍu.

That Muttaraiyar-nāḍu included at least that part of Maḻa-nāḍu which was under their sway is plain from two references in the inscriptions of Pallava Nṛpatuṅga dated in his twenty-third and twenty-sixth regnal years.[10] Sirugavūr just north of Lalgudi was according to one of them, in the subdivison of Mī-kūṟu in the Kalāra-kūṟṟam in Vaḍagarai Maḻa-nāḍu, while in the second epigraph, Kūkūr is said to be in the division of Viḷā-nāḍu which is placed in Mī-kūṟu of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu. The location of Kalāra-kūṟṟam and Kūkūr in the Lalgudi taluk makes it certain that Muttaraiyar-nāḍu included this part of Maḻa-nāḍu and in confirmation of the same we find that Mummuḍis'ōḷamaṅgalam near Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk, said to be in Viḷā-nāḍu[11] is also placed inside

9. *A. R.* 1928-29 No. 122 ; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 531 & *S. I. I.* Vol. XII. No. 61.

10. *S. I. I.* Vol. *IV.* 531; and Vol. *VI.* No. 368.

11. *A. R.* 1936-7. No. 80.

Kalāra-kūṟṟam [12] in Rājās'rya-vaḷa-nāḍu *i.e.* Maḷa-nāḍu. It may, therefore, be said that at least part of Viḷā-nāḍu, which lay north of the Kāvērī was a subdivision of Kalāra-kuṟṟam. Thus Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu, was that part of Viḷā-nāḍu which lay north of the Kāvērī and was a subdivision of Kalāra-kūṟṟam. Idaiyāṟṟu nāḍu lay north of the Kāvērī and included the region on both the sides of the Coleroon. Viḷā-nāḍu was the name of the region which lay on both the sides of the Kāvērī in this part.

The fact that Pācchil was the centre of the major-division of Maḷa-nāḍu called after it as Pācchil-kūṟṟam and was one of the headquarters of the Maḷa-nāḍu chiefs is plain both from literature and inscriptions. That the lord of this, Pācchil Vēl, who bore the name Nambaṉ, sang verses in praise of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyar, two of which are found at Sendalai [13] shows that he and his country were subordinate to the Muttaraiyaṉ.

Paḷūr which is in the south-east of Maṉacchanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk, was in Viḷattūr nāḍu [14] and as it is also said to be in Viḷā-nāḍu, [15] it proves that Viḷattūr-nāḍu, the region round Paḷūr was included in Viḷa-nāḍu. The location of Paḷūr in the map shows that it was in the immediate east of the region round Pācchil, the headquarters of the bigger division named after it ; and from the location of Marudūr, Ṭuraiyūr, Vāḷāḍi aud Es'anakora, which were inside Pācchil-kuṟṟām, in the immediate east of the region round Paḷūr, *i.e.* Vīḷattūr-nāḍu, proves that Viḷattūr-nāḍu was inside Pācchil-kūṟṟam. These evidences may be taken to show that Viḷā-nāḍu included at least the eastern part of Pācchil-kūṟṟam, in which was this Viḷattūr-nāḍu, just like Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu, which lay in the neighbouring region east of Vāḷāḍi and Marudūr.

The location of the places situated in this Viḷā-nāḍu, discloses that it comprised of parts of the modern Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk, lying to the south of the Kāvērī, and the adjoining parts in the Lalgudi taluk lying to the immediate north of that river. In the

12. *A.R.* 1928-9. Nos. 140, 143.
13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. *XIII*. P. 140, 143.
14. *A. R.* 1918. No. 346.
15. *Ibid.* No. 351.

south it included Srirañgam,[16] Jambhukēs'varam,[17] Tiruppalaturai,[18] Uttamasili,[19] Tiruverumbūr,[20] Sōḻ ımādēvi,[21] etc. and in the north it had within it Kīḻ Peruvangūr,[22] Mammudis'ōḻa mañgalam,[23] Kūkūr,[24] and Paḻūr.[25] In the south east Vıḻā nāḍu was bordered by Vada-Kavira-nāḍu in which was Tiruneḍuñguḷam.

Mattarasanallūr, the western border of the Viḷā-nāḍu, reminds one of the rule of the Muttaraiyar in the Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk and is in confirmity with the revelations made in the records of the Pallavas and the Muttaraiyars. Thus it becomes plain that the major part of the region of modern Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk which was occupied by the Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam and Viḷā-nāḍu of the inscriptions was in the possession of the Muttaraiyar chiefs who held the same as Pallava subordinates.

Mūlañguḍi in Viḷā-nādu[26] is in the region south of Muttarasanallūr. This region which lies to the immediate west of Kōḻi or Uṟaiyūr was called Mikōḻi-nādu and in confirmity with what we have noted above we find that an inscription mentions that Nelvāyil was in Mi-kōḻai-Viḷâ-nāḍu.[27] This term Mi-kōḻai-Vıḷā-nāḍu means that part of Viḷâ-nāḍu which comprised the region west of Kōḻi *i.e.* Uṟaiyūr. So we have to look for Nelvāyil in the Mi-kōḻi-nāḍu which was a part of Viḷā-nāḍu.

Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam was the division which was centered round Uṟaiyur near Tirucchirāppaḷḷi and the nādu round Uṟaiyūr was called Uṟaiyùr-nāḍu or Kōḻi-nāḍu, since Kōḻi was its other name. The region west of it was termed Mi-Kōḻi-nādu. Uyyakoṇḍāṉ

16. *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. No. 424. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII. No. 336.
17. *A.R.* 1936-7, No. 106.
18. *A. R.* 1908. Nos. 565, 568.
19. *S. I. I.* Vol. II. No. 57.
20. *Ibid.* Vol. IV. No. 547 of *A. R.* 1914. No. 97.
21. *S. I. I.* Vol. II. Nos. 57, 69.
22. *A. R.* 1936-7. No. 95.
23. *Ibid.* No. 80.
24. *S. I. I.* Vol. VI. No. 368.
25. *A. R.* 1918. No. 351
26. *A. R.* 1912, No. 420.
27. *A. R.* 1924, No. 180.

Tirumalai, Tirucchirāppaḷḷi, Naṅgavaram, Tiruppalātturai, Tirucchendurai, Kumāravayalūr, Muḷḷukkuṟumbu and other places in Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk were inside Uṟaiyūr-küṟṟam. Since Tiruppālatturai is placed inside Viḷā naḍu[28] and the region round this place is stated to be inside Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam, that part of the Viḷā-nāḍu which comprised the modern Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk was a subdivision of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam. That Mi-Kōḻai-nāḍu was a part of Viḷā-nāḍu has been noted already. In the south of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam was the northern part of Kō-nādu of the Koḍumbālúr chiefs. Vaḍa-Kō-nāḍu extended also into the adjacent Kuḷittalai taluk of the Tirucchirāppaḷḷi district. Uṟaiyúr-kūṟṟam was thus a part of the Viḷā-nāḍu, to the south of the Kāvērī.

In the eastern border of the Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam was Eyi-nāḍu which was an integral part of Ārkkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam and which was the region in which were Kacchamaṅgalam, Kaḍambaṅguḍi, Mēkaḷattūr, Māranēri and other places in the Tañjāvūr taluk in that part which adjoins the Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluk. Eyi-nāḍu was the north-eastern boundary of Kavira-nāḍu and lay south of the Kāvērī and south of the Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu and Poygai-nāḍu of the region of Tirucchinnamapūṇḍi and Tiruvaiyāṟū. The facts, that Eyi-nāḍu which was a part of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu was a major division of Ārkkāṭṭu-kùṟṟam and that the Tañjāvûr-kûṟṟam which lay to the immediate south of this Ārkkāṭṭu-küṟṟam, was one of their principal territorial divisions, may be said to provide the clue to the probability of the whole region of the Ārkkāṭṭu-küṟṟam or at least a major part of the same which lay to the immedate north of the Tanjāvùr-kùṟṟam, within which was Eyi-nāḍu and its eastern neighbourhood, having been included in Muttaraiyar-nāḍu.

It will be seen from what has been stated above that during the time of the Pallava occupation of the south when the Muttaraiyns had grown in power, the country ruled by them as the Pallava subordinates, and which was specifically denoted by the significant term Muttaraiyar-nâdu in the Pallava's record, was a large tract which comprised of Tañjāvûr-küṟṟam, Valla-nāḍu, Sembula-nāḍu, a good portion of Ārkáṭṭu-küṟṟam, Eyi-nādu

28. *A. R.* 1908. Nos. 565, 568.

and Viḷā-nāḍu, which included parts of Kalāra-kūṟṟam, Pācchil-kūṟṟam, *i.e.* Idiayāṟṟu-nadu and Viḷattūr-nāḍu together with Uṟayāṭṭur-kūṟṟam and Mīkōḷi-nāḍu. The location of places inside these divisions show that Muttaraiyar-nāḍu was made up of parts of modern Tañjāvur, Lalgudi and Tirucchirāppaḷḷi taluks of the two adjacent districts of Tañjāvūr and Tirucchirāppaḷḷi.

That the Muttaraiyar chief had defeated the lord of Kō-nāḍu which was the neighbouring country is plain from the victories gained by him at Koḍumbāḷūr, Annavāyil and Semponmāri.[29] The Koḍumbāḷūr chief Kalimūrkha Iḷavaraiyaṉ whose proper name was Vāli-Vaḍugaṉ figures as a servant (*aḍiyāṉ*) of the Muttaraiyar chieftain Māṟapiḍuvaṉār in a Kunnāṇḍar koyil inscription. The influence and power of the Muttaraiyar, while they remained as Pallava subordinates, over the region of Kō-nāḍu is brought out clearly by the facts that the Malayadippatti cave was excavated by Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ *alias* Kuvāvaṉ Sāttaṉ and that Sāttaṉ Paḷiyili, the son of another Viḍēlviḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ constructed the Nārthāmalai temple in the seventh year of Pallava Nṛpatuṅga.

The records of the Pallavas of this period, Kampavarman, the co-regent of Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita, having distinguished this region of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu, make it plain that Cōḷa-nāḍu was the region which lay to the immediate east of the Muttaraiyar-nāḍu and that in it were Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu the region round Paḷaiyāru,[30] Innambūr-nāḍu,[31] and Indaḷūr-nāḍu.[32] It is in confirmity with this that we find that the contemporary Pāṇḍya record places Iḍavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu inside the Cōḷa-nāḍu. Maṇṇi-nāḍu lay to the immediate east of Innambūr-nāḍu and north of the Kāvērī in the Kumbakonam Taluk.

The inscriptions of Nṛpatuṅga and others in this region of the Tañjāvūr and Tirucchirāppalli districts therefore reveal this clear distinction between the then existing Cōḷa-nāḍu and Muttaraiyar-nāḍu. Thus the cumulative evidences furnished in the

29. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. P. 145, 147.
39. S. *I. I.* Vol. II. No. 99.
31. *A. R.* 1912. No. 159.
32. *Ibid.* No. 188.

contemporary Pallava and Pāṇḍya records show that it is incorrect to equate the Iḍavai of Maṇṇi-nāḍu with the regional name of Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu which was clearly a division inside the Viḷā-nāḍu of the Muttaraiyar at the time of the references and definitely inside Maḻa-nāḍu according to others. It was centred round Iḍaiyāṟṟūr.

When the Cōḷa king Āditya I, son and successor of Vijayālaya, the capturer of Tañjai from the Muttaraiyar, strengthened his position and annexed the region west of Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam along with Maḻa-nāḍu, the whole of the country that lay from the Bay of Bengal upto the eastern borders of the Koṅgu-nāḍu came to be called Cōḷa-nāḍu and was later re-named Cōḷa-maṇḍalam. The rule of the Muttaraiyar having been terminated by the Cōḷas the region of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu automatically merged in the Cōḷa dominion.

Thus from an analysis of the inscriptions prior to the third quarter of the ninth century it is clear that Kō-nāḍu was the country next door to the Muttaraiyar-nāḍu, to the west and south-west, while Cōḷa-nāḍu denoted that part of the Tañjāvūr district which lay east of Nēman, Sendalai, Tañjāvūr and Vallam. In the north-west, Muttaraiyar-nāḍu was coterminous with Maḻa-nāḍu and they sometimes overlapped each other. Thus Muttaraiyar-nāḍu was made up of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam, Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam, a great part of Ārkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam and a portion of Kalāra-kūṟṟam and Pācchil-kūṟṟam to the immediate north of the Kāvērī and the Coleroon. Maḻa-nāḍu and Kō-nāḍu, its neighbouring countries in the north-west, west and south-west were made subordinate to their sway. Cōḷa-nāḍu, lay to its immediate east. That the Muttaraiyar chief who styled himself as king Kō Iḷaṅgō Muttaraiyar, brought this region of Cōḷa-nāḍu also under his rule, is proved by the existence of his records at Tirukōḍikāval to the east of Maṇṇi-nāḍu in the Cōḷa country.

Geographical Divisions Included in Muttaraiyar-Nāḍu

Viḷā-nāḍu or *Viḻā-nāḍu*

— *Mīkūru* (western part)

Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu : *Vaḍakarai* (north of Kāvērī)

Lalgudi Taluk

Iḍaiyāṟṟūr : This was the centre of this division.

— Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam : Edayāttimaṅgalam.

— Tāḻaiyūr : Talakkuḍi.

— Siṟugavūr : Sirudaiyūr.

— Iḷamperunikāyi : Irukkai.

— Kavirappoṟkaṭṭiyūr.

— Tirumayilraṅgam : Javanthināthapuram.

— Tirumaṉanāḍu : Tirumaṉamēḍu.

— Muttaiyil : Muttiyūr.

— Mummuḍis'ōḻamaṅgalam : Mummudis'oḻamaṅgalam.

— Nallimaṅgalam : Nannimaṅgalam.

— Sāttamaṅgalam : Sāttamaṅgalam.

— Nityāvinita maṅgalam : Kīḻ Anbil.

— Parāntakapuram : Senni Vāykkāl

Iḍaiyāṟṟu nāḍu : *Teṉkarai* (south of Coleroon and north of Kāvērī)

Tañjāvūr Taluk

Tirucchinnampūṇḍi

Viḷā-nāḍu

— Peruvaṅgūr : Kīḻ Peruvangūr in *Lalgudi Taluk*

— Mummudis'ōḻa-Caturvedimaṅgalam : Mummudis'ōḻamaṅgalam in *Lalgudi Taluk.*

— Kūkūr : Kukur in *Lalgudi Taluk.*

— *Viḷattūr nāḍu*

— Viḷattūr.

— Tiruppaḻuvūr : Paḻūr in *Lalgudi Taluk.*

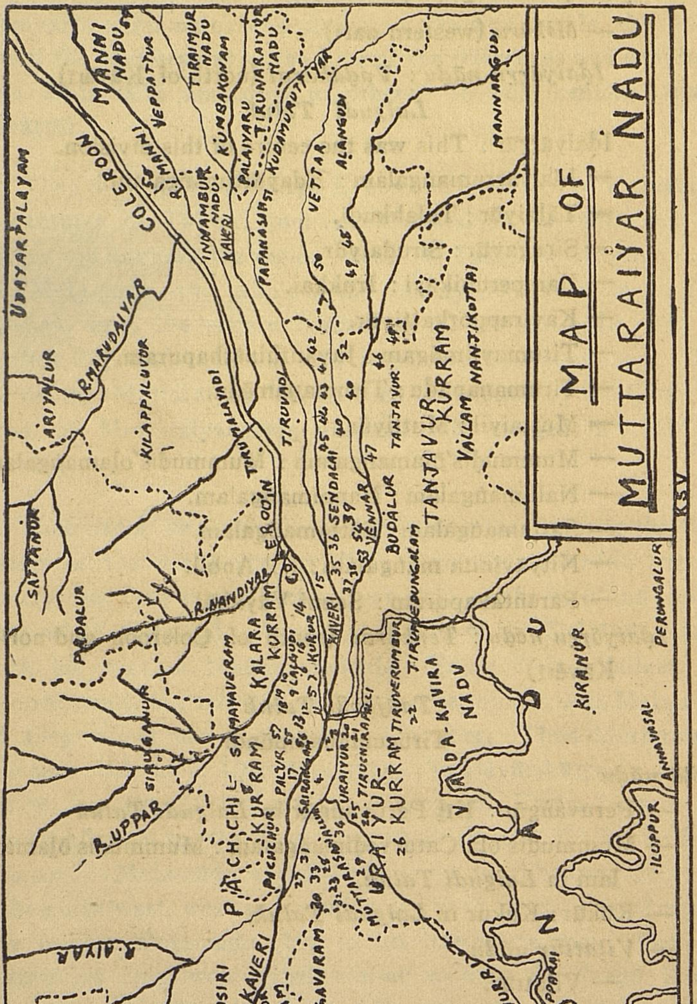
— Enādimaṅgalam *alias* Gaṇapatinallūr.

— Kāraikkuḍi.

— Oṟṟiyūr.

— Tiruvaraṅgam : S'riraṅgam in *Tirucchirāppaḷḷi Taluk*

— Tiruvāṉaikkā : Jambukēs'varam in do


MAP OF
MUTTARAIYAR NADU
COLEROON
MANNI NADU
R. MANNI
VEPPATTUR
TIRAIMUR NADU
KUMBAKONAM
TIRUNARAIYUR NADU
KUDAMURUTTIYAR
PALAIYARU
INAMBUR NADU
KAVERI
PAPANASAM
VETTAR
ALANGUDI
MANNARGUDI
UDAYARPALAYAM
ARIYALUR
R. MARUDAIYAR
KILAPPALUVUR
TIRUMALAVADI
TIRUVADI
SENDALAI
TANJAVUR KURRAM
TANJAVUR
VALLAM
NANJIKOTTAI
BUDALUR
VENNAR
SATTANUR
PADALUR
R. NANDIYAR
KALARA KURRAM
SAMAYAVARAM
SIRUGANUR
R. UPPAR
PACHCHIL KURRAM
PACHCHUR
PALUR
LALGUDI
KURUR
SRIRANGAM
URAIYUR
TIRUCHIRAPALLI
URAIYUR KURRAM
TIRUVERUMBUR
TIRUNEDUNGALAM
VADA-KAVIRA NADU
KIRANUR
PERUNGALUR
ANNAVASAL
ILUPPUR
KONADU
NANGAVARAM
MUTTARASANALLUR
MUSIRI
R. KAVERI
SURALUR KURRAM
KULITTALAI
R. AIYAR
ARIYUR R.
MANAPPARAI

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21	Nagaveli	51	Kargudi
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24	Uyyakkondan Tirumalai	54	Bhutarayanallur
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26	Kottamangalam	56	Esanakorai
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30	Pulivalam		

— Malari alias S'rikanta Caturvēdimaṅgalam
— Tiruverumbiyūr : Tiruverumbūr in *Tirucchirāppaḷḷi Taluk*
— Murukkūr : Murukkur in do
— Uttamasili Chaturvēdimaṅgalam : Uttamaseri in do
— Nāgalamahādēvi Caturvedimaṅgalam :
Nagaveli in do
— Tiruppaṟṟuṟai : Tiruppalātturai in do
— S'ōḷamahādēvi Caturvēdimaṅgalam :
S'ōḷamādēvi in do
Tiruppaṉampūdūr : Panayavaram in do
— *Mī-kōḷai nāḍu.*
— Nelvāyil.
— Mūlaṅguḍi : Mulaṅguḍi in do

Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam : *Tirucchirāppaḷḷi Taluk*

— Uraiyūr : Oreyur.
— Tirucchirāppaḷḷi : Tirucchirāppaḷḷi.
— Kaṟkudi : Uyyākkoṇḍāṉ Tirumalai.
— Vaḍavūr : Vaḍavūr.
— Koṟṟamaṅgalam : Kottamaṅgalam.
— Muḷḷikkuṟumbu : Muḷḷikkuṟumbūr.
— Āḍavattūr : Āḍavathūr.
— Tirucchendurai : Tirucchendurai.
— Pulivalam : Pulivalam.
— Karuppūr : Karuppur.
— Mūlaṅguḍi : Mūlaṅguḍi.
— Pērur : Pērur.
— Allūr : Allūr.
— Tirukkuḷirmaṇi : Kulamaṇi.
— Kūḍalūr : Gūḍalūr.
— Ariñjigai Caturvēdimaṅgalam : Naṅgavaram.
— Tirupparāitturai : Tiruppalatturai.
— Tiruppaṉampūthūr : Panayavaram.

Eyi-nāḍu : *Tañjāvūr Taluk.*

— Karambiyam : Karambai.
— Būtamaṅgalam : Būtarāyanallur.
— Rājēndra Cōḷa Caturvēdimaṅgalam : Rājēndram.

— Mēlkaḷattūr : Mekalattur.
— Aṭṭuppaḷḷi Niyamam : Nēmam.
— Candiralēkhai : Sendalai.
— Kaḷattūr.
— Māranēri *alias* Sīṉa Cintāmaṇi Caturvēdimaṅgalam : Māranēri.
— Mullaḍkkuḍi : Mullakuḍi.
— Kacchimaṅgalam : Kacchamaṅgalam.
— Tiruppēr : Tiruppēr.

Ārkkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam *Tañjāvūr Taluk.*
— Ārkkāḍu, S'iṟṟārkkāḍu and Pērārkkāḍ : Ārkāḍu and Mēl Sittākkāḍu.
— Candiralēkhai Caturvēdimaṅgalam : Sendalai.
— Niyamamaṅgalam : Nēmam.
— Tugavūr : Tohūr.
— Arais'ūr : Arasūr.
— Tiruvēdikuḍi : Tiruvēdukuḍi.
— Tirukkaṇḍiyūr : Kaṇḍiyūr.
— Ṭiruttuṟutti : Tiruppūndurutti.
— Oṉbadiṟṟuvēli : Onbattuvēli.
— Tiruvālampoḷil : Tiruvālampoḷil.
— Aḷis'ūr : Aḷis'ukuḍi.
— Pirambir : Perambūr.

Valla-nāḍu : *Tañjāvūr Taluk.*
Vallam : Vallam.

Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam : *Tañjāvūr Taluk.*
— Tañjāvūr ; Tanjore.
— Kārukoḍu ; Kuruvaḍi.
— Kuruntiṭṭaikkuḍi : Karunattaṅgudi.
— Irumbūtalai : Irumbūtalai.
— Kāruguḍi : Karkuḍi.
— Nāṭṭāmaṅgalam : Nāṭṭāmaṅgalam.
— etc.

Sembuḷa-nāḍu
— Veṇkōḍal.

MALIK AMBAR'S FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

By B. G. Tamaskar

Administration of the finances of a state forms an important and vital branch of government, for on it depends not only the defence of a country but also the welfare and progress of its people. Finances have two aspects: income and expenditure. Unfortunately as we have no chronicle of Malik Ambar's history and administration, we know very little about the financial administration of this astute and patriotic statesman who kept alive the Nizams'āhi kingdom for full thirty years. Some of the items of income and expenditure are always common to all states: but some have to be gathered from historical and epigraphical sources. The chief source of income of India in those times were land revenue, customs duties, local cesses, local duties and tolls, tributes from the *vatandars* and subordinate states,[1] fines and ransoms for freedom from imprisonment, fees charged on judicial decisions and some occasional taxes. Land Revenue has always been the chief and the most important source of revenue. In all discussions of kingship in India, land revenue always figures first.

It need not, from this be said that land revenue was an important source of the Nizams'āhi state during Malik Ambar's time also. What is rather important to note is that Malik Ambar paid keen attention to the settlement of land revenue on a satisfactory basis so that both the state and the people were benefited. Malik Ambar's land revenue system has been well-known in the history of the Deccan. The chronicles and the writers of official records, judicial decisions and even private letters regarding the settlement of different kinds of land disputes take delight in mentioning Malik Ambar's land revenue system. The Shedgaonkar Bakhar (written in the third quarter of

1. The first has been called *s'erani* (शेरणी) and the latter *Nal-bāhā* (नलबाहा). *Indian Antiquary.* Vol. L, 1921, P. 282. This has been called '*Nalbandh*' in the history of S'ivāji.

the last century) says at page 12 : "He (Malik Ambar) got all the land of the kingdom measured and settled the rates of revenue payment, the boundaries of the different villages and the (land) measures of *cavara* and *bighas*. Since then, Malik Ambar's settlement continues in that territory." That shows that even the British Government continued the settlement of Malik Ambar in the early years of the seventeenth century which reveals the wise and intelligent work of planned settlement and careful execution. Contemporary documents bear testimony to the above. The third and fourth issues of the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal*, a Quarterly, (Vol. XXVIII. January and April 1948)[2] contain a document dated 1631 A.D. printed at the very beginning which says that there was no fort and no fortification in the *Caul* territory ; the officer, Habaskhan, used to assemble the local authorities (*Des'mukh, Adhikāri, Des'kulkarṇi, S'ete-Mahājan* and *Mokhtasar*) and carry on the administration of the king. In the third year (after the conquest by the Nizamah ?) in accordance with the (land) settlement in other areas, Malik Ambar's plan of (revenue) payment was introduced. All the fields, gardens and salt-pans of all the villages were surveyed and the amounts to be paid by each fixed. In accordance with it the ryots paid the revenue. It was, therefore, not necessary to make a survey and calculation of the produce. After paying the land revenue fixed, the ryots lived in peace and happiness. The Jamindar and the ryots lived in cordial co-operation. In order to ascertain the exact land revenue of the kingdom it was necessary to regulate and regularise the grants. Therefore, Malik Ambar issued orders to the holders of *inam* (free-grants) and *mokasas* to get writs of the grants and *mokasas* renewed in their favour.[3] It was thought necessary that even the *inamdars* (grant holders) and the *mokasdars* (free land-holders) should be regulated by the system and should not exact anything more than what was due according to the system.

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2. Vol. XXVIII, January-April 1948, P. 1.

3. *Cf.* Pp. 12-14 Document No. 5 dated 30th September 1618. The Historical Persian documents Pt. I and P. 120 of the Historical Miscellaneous documents Vol. I, published by the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal and Document 675 of S'io-Carita Sahitya Vol. IV dated 31st May 1617.

Prior to the introduction of this reform in the land-revenue system payment of land revenue was regulated on contract or farming basis of which there is an indirect mention in document No. 929 *S'iocaritra Sāhitya* Part V and in the Annual Proceedings of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal for the S'aka year 1839.[4] In the farming system there was no definite mention about the share or quota a tenant had to pay. The revenue system of Malik Ambar had some aspect of a rational settlement, it was only for a small number of years. The following is an example: "From the office of the Diwan, Headquarter Pargana Shirval to Lakhmoji and Balo, (dated 1561 A.D.) ryot of town Shirval of the said Pargana dated *Isane Tisain* and *Tisā Mayā* (इसने तिसैन व तिसा मया) this agreement is granted, namely, that in accordance with what has been said by Malharji and Athaji, Des'a (*Kulkarṇi*), that the field.........near the tank has been lying fallow for a long time ....*bighas* 30 (¼ *cavar*) in order to cultivate the same in the year *salas*, the following settlement is granted to the said persons, namely:

In Cash	In Kind
Third year, *salas*	
½ *Taka* 6 *Rukas* for Village	Grain 2½ Maunds
½ *Taka* for town	Grass 25 Bushels
Arba (fourth) year	
¼ *Taka* for village land	Grass 50 Bushels
Fifth year:	
3¼ *Takas* 6 *Rukas* for village and town land	Grain 3½ Maunds Grass 75 Bushels

4. P. 320. The administrative arrangement of the Anjanvel Taluka is given here. At the very beginning, it is mentioned that the population in the beginning of the Adilshahi administration was very sparse. Therefore, Patil for each village was settled and for each *Mahāl* there were established *Des'mukh, Sardes'mukh. Des'kulkarṇi* and village *Kulkarṇi* and *Khot* for each village; people were habilitated in each village, assurances were given to them. A rough estimate of the produce was made by guess and a sixth part of the produce of agriculture and garden land was taken as the royal share; at that time the fields were not measured in terms of *bighas*, the assessment was made by observation and guess; out of that the *Inam* expenses etc. were deducted and the rest was deposited in the treasury.

Sixth Year

2½ *Takas* for village land	¼ Maund and 3¾ seers
2 *Takas* for town land	Grain 1 *Khandi* [5]
	Grass 100 Bushels
	Cotton ¼ *Khandi*
	1 maund.

The above settlement does not clearly state whether the land was surveyed or not nor does it mention the class of the land. Therefore, it is not clear if it was just or heavy. It shows that the agreement was likely to be changed after the expiry of the term. The good features are: No rent was to be taken for the first two years (इहिदे and इसने), rent was to begin with the third year (सळास), it was gradually increased and was partly in cash and partly in kind. Thirdly, the document shows that the settlement was made with each tenant separately. Malik Ambar's settlement had some more features about it. Malik Ambar got each field measured, got it classified according to the quality of the land and its yield and fixed the amount to be paid for it. In document No. 469 of S'iva Caritra Sāhitya, Part III dated 21st April 1610 there is a definite mention of the assessment of land settlement by Malik Ambar some time before that. We think that it was done sometime after Malik Ambar got rid of Miya Rāju by defeating and imprisoning him. The latest limit in this matter we are inclined to fix is the year 1607 A. D. The aforesaid document says: "Bāji Patil and Triambak Patil, Mokadam, the ryots, Tanji Sadaphule and Bhau Bhorad Vatan Patil, Kalbaba and Asu Dhonya and Bhinji Teli and all the ryots and Daji and Godhal *Kulkarṇi* of the said town (*Vavi* of the said Sangamner Pargana) represented to His Majesty that their said place was at first included in the Sangamner Pargana and when this Pargana was measured by means of chain, the area of their said place was fixed at 54¼ *cavar* and one *bhiga*." That each ryot knew what he had to pay as dues for his land is indirectly referred to in the next document, *i.e.* No. 470, of the same collection.

5. The print, as it stands, reads a *khandi*, but reasonably it ought to be a maund only.

Whenever a new land was broken and brought under cultivation, the maximum amount of payment was to be realised after a number of years at concessional rates of payment which gradually increased to the maximum. The number of years and the amount of payment depended upon the quality of the land and the conveniences obtaining in the areas for the improvement of cultivation. This reform can be to some extent read in the following document:

Rājwade's Vol. XV, Document No. 340 dated 1678:

" Rājashrī Anaji Datto to the Hon'ble Des'mukh and Des'-kulkarṇi and Mokadam Patels and people of Tarf Rohidkhere, Suba Maval, dated *Suhur Tisa Sahain Alaf* (1678 A. D.) regarding assurance (given), you came to village Lakhedvadi (and represented) that the area has been the *vatan* of His Majesty, that in case a settlement of land revenue was done and the people were given assurance, they would do their work well and be happy. You people represented like that which having been taken into consideration, it was resolved that, as the land revenue was settled at half of the produce from the year, *Saman*, (1677 A. D.) and last year (*i.e. Saman*) (1677 A.D.) the land was measured in terms of *bighas* and revenue was fixed at half of the produce, the following land was given (remission) for one year and where the land could be measured the revenue was fixed at half of the produce and where the land was of the best kind but was not cultivated there......; but this did not satisfy the people and you requested for a (regular) land settlement with a view to fix the revenue. It was therefore resolved that, as the year was coming to a close and only one month was left over, the revenue demand be fixed at the rate that prevailed in the year (*Sabain*) (1669 ?). It was considered that, in case a *Brahman* or *Prabhu* clerk was engaged, he (would not do his work well) on account of laziness. And, (even if he would do his work well), what can he do in a village whose land has been newly broken? How can that poor fellow know what was produced there and what should be the rate of revenue? For this, an assessor for your *mahal* has been appointed: you should therefore from this day do the work of the assessment of your *mahal*. You *des'mukh*, *des'kulkarṇi*, *mokadam* and some

leading people come together, tour over each village and fix the revenue thus ; 'this particular village, so much its revenue, so much its land, so much of it of the first kind, so much of it of the second kind, so much of it of the third kind and so much of the fourth kind, this classification having been done its produce be estimated in the case of its being well cultivated and accordingly, the revenue demand be fixed. For this (determination of produce), (people's) evidence be taken and thus the demand be fixed so that, *according to Malik Ambar's method*, so much would be the demand, so much was of the *kharif* (*i.e.* rainy season) crop, so many *bighas* produced (so much of) a particular crop. Thus the produce was to be estimated as five or seven farmers would say. In this way, each village and the whole *Tape* be assesed. One whole year has been allotted from this day for this work. Within this time, you tour over the whole *Tape* and the demand on each field be fixed and you should do this very carefully and inform me. I shall then come down there, select three villages of three kinds, one hilly village, one low land village and one of black soil land ; I shall get the demands from them examined and test the veracity of the assessment work (by taking evidence) of some people and I shall then compare it with what has been your estimate of the revenue demand from that village. If your estimate has been one and one fourth times, or one and one and a half times, or two times (of the previous realization) and if the same be found to be correct after examination, you will be allowed to make realisation accordingly. Even if it be equal (to previous realisations), the same will be thought proper and a decision will be made accordingly and we shall agree to it. You should give assurance in the *mahal* accordingly......' "

Many letters and some words have been missing from this document on account of the ravages of time. A literal translation has been attempted here as far as the extant words could allow. It can be safely said that the meaning has not in any way been distorted. From this document we get a fairly clear idea of Malik Ambar's land settlement, for, Dadaji Kond Deo, after him S'ivāji and his ministers, especially, Anaji Datto (who was responsible for much of S'ivāji's land settlement) all followed Malik Ambar's system, as

has been clearly mentioned in the aforesaid document. The following facts can be gleaned from the same :

(i) The land was first classified into four kinds: first, second, third and fourth according to its soil and the nature and yield of crops in it.

(ii) It was measured in terms of *bighas.*

(iii) The dimensions of each field were found out, what crops it produced were noted and how much per year for a number of years.

(iv) The average amount of produce was found out and the revenue demand was based on it at the rate of fifty per cent. The tenants were however excused from the payments of other taxes or cesses. In the documents under examination this has not been stated but it has been mentioned in another document, (Sh. Ch. S. IV. 684, dated 23rd June 1676). But Malik Ambar took only one-third of the produce as the government share which fact is evident from other documents quoted in the sequel.

(v) Malik Ambar's principle as regards the actual realisations was that the amount was fixed on the aforesaid basis but it was realised partly in cash and partly in kind which was taken in lieu of cash in accordance with the prices then obtaining. This was just and convenient both to the state and the people. But, as will be seen from other documents, rent on garden land was always realised in cash, for the garden produce generally consisted of perishable articles which could not be stored in government stores.

In Sh. Ch. S. VII at Pp. 108-114 has been printed an account of land assessment of the village Khore of the Pargana Poona. It is dated 1689 A.D. but as it gives a historical account of the same beginning with that of the Bahamani kingdom, it gives us some idea of Malik Ambar's assessment too. At first, the extent of land and the names of the various parts are mentioned. The first measures are stated in terms of *taka* (टका) and *ruka* (रुका). It must be remembered that these names were also

the names of the currency: *taka* being equal to one fourth of a rupee and *ruka* being equal to one forty-eighth of a *taka i.e.* equal to the pie (पाई) of recent times. Land was classified as agricultural and garden. There must have been waste land, but there is no mention of it throughout the paper.

During the rule of the Bahamani kings, the village seems to have been assessed as a whole and the value of one-third of the produce was to be paid in cash as Government dues while the details of the assessment are not available at all. Incidentally it has been mentioned that a quarter *taka* of land was the free holding of the *Padewar* (पाडेवार) *i.e.* the *vatandar mahar* who used to attend to the duty of the village police.

The dues were fixed in terms of cash payable in one lump sum for the whole village. That for agricultural land was 624¼ *takas*, from which one fifth was to be deducted for reasons not given. Probably, it might be the commission of the Patel. The rent for garden land was 107½ *takas*. Neither the rates, nor the assessment on each cultivator was fixed. This condition continued for generations and during all the political changes. From the references to the extent of land, it is clear that, while ¼ *taka* of land was the free holding of the *Padewar*, 3 *rukas* of land were government land, 8 *rukas* were garden land, 4 *takas* and 7 *rukas* were assessed as agricultural land. The *Padewar's* land was also agricultural land. It has been definitely mentioned that in the beginning there were no demarcations to indicate separate fields or the limits of the village land. The forests made these limits. Cattle used to graze there as well as agricultural operations were also carried on for which a fixed amount was assessed. Later on, all these demarcations were made. One *taka* of land was equal to 4 *cavars*, while one *cavar* was equal to 12 *rukas*. Thus one *ruka* of land came to be equal to 10 *bighas*.

There is one assessment given which is clearly Malik Ambar's assessment, but the details of this are lacking. So, it is difficult to make out a full idea of Malik Ambar's land assessment from this paper. The whole assessment was fixed at 133 *hons* in the time

of Haibatkhan and Malik Ambar and during the kingship of Mutaza Ali Nizams'āh. Extra cesses could be imposed. Malik Ambar had imposed a tax for the purpose of bringing from Solapur the well-known cannon, "*Muluk-Maidan*", from Daulatabad. When S'āhji went over to the Adils'āh, he had 60 *hons* assigned to him from this village as his *jāgir*. So this makes it clear that a fixed amount was assigned to each *jāgirdar* from each of the villages given to him as his *jāgir*.

(*To be continued*)

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ŚRIVILLIPUTTUR: HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY *

By V. Srinivasan

The Inscription

S'rīvilliputtūr has rich epigraphical material and the inscriptions in the town are of great importance. A few among them, for instance, show that two kings Sundara Tol and Muttarasa Tirumala calling themselves Mahavali and Banadhi Rājās obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya power (1453, 1476 A.D.) The inscriptions which give the above information are of great importance for scholars in the history of Mysore as they are in the Grantha and Tamil characters like a few such specimens in Salem, since inscriptions relating to Mysore history [36] are generally in Kannada and Sanskrit languages. An inscription on the wall of the Vatapatrasayanar temple [37] records the grant of land made in S'. 1546 by Parākrama Pāṇḍya with the sanction of his father, who (the father) seems to have been ruling over some part of the country but his (father's) name is unfortunately not given though he is identified to be the grandfather of Candra or Kulas'ēkhara. However, as this grant and the other grant of the Villivanātha dynasty (which had disappeared in Madurai forty-six years earlier) are all found in the same place it is probable that Parākrama referred to above was a scion of that family which lends to the presumption that the Villivanātha dynasty possibly continued to be influential in the southern part of the country even after they ceased to rule from their capital.[38] Another inscription of interest is the grant of 1627 A. D. by Vijaya Ranga Chokkappa,[39] Tirumala Nāyaka's brother-in-law, of some lands in the Kayattār province to Irunkol Pillai, the Chief of Korkai as a reward for settling a boundary dispute.

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* Continued from Vol XLIV. Page 28,

36. LEWIS RICE. *Mysore*: Vol. I. P. 302, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*. 1909. P. 20.

37. No. 177-B. for Rāmnâd District, Rangacharya: *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*. Vol. II, P. 1181. Also J. H. Nelson. *Madura Country*. III P. 95.

38. J. H. Nelson. *Op. Cit.*

39. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. P. 7 and Vol. XLV. Pp. 161-162.

The inscriptions in the place can be classified to belong to the Pāṇḍya, the Cōḷā, the Vijayanagara and the Nāyaka and Travancore periods of the local history. Though the Mackenzie collection consists of forty-six specimens Professor Rangacharya's list is fuller and gives fifty which are found (excepting five) in the two principal Viṣṇu temples and the S'iva temple in Madavārvilāgam. The Kṛṣṇa temple has only one inscription and there is another inscription in the custody of a Brāhmin. Omitting the aforementioned inscription in the private custody of a Brāhmin and for want of adequate data, seven others (bearing numbers 178, K.O.S. 179 B, H.J.K) the remaining forty-two inscriptions [40] have been classified according to the temples in which they have been mentioned as having been found.

	Vatapatra-sayanar Temple	S'rī Āndāl Temple	Madavār-vilāgam Temple	Kṛṣṇa Temple
Pāṇḍya Inscriptions	177 B	177	179 L	....
	178 Q	177 A	179 M	
	178 R	178 D	179 N	
	178 T	178 E	179 O	
	178 V	178 F	179 P	
	178 X	178 G	179 Q	
	179 C	178 H	179 R	
	179 D	178 I	179 S	
	179 E	178 J	179 T	
	179 F	179 A		
	179 G			
	179 I			
Cōḷa Inscriptions	178 U	178 N	...	...
	178 W			
Vijayanagara and Nāyaka Inscriptions	...	178 A	...	179 U (Nāyaka)
		178 B		
		178 C		
		178 L		
		178 M		
		178 P		

40. The fifty inscriptions are listed in full at Pp. 1180-1184 of Rangacharya's *Topographical List*. Vol. II (Series 177-180 for Rāmnād Dist).

	Vatapatra-sayanar Temple	S'rī Āndāl Temple	Madavār vilāgam Temple	Kṛṣṇa Temple
Travancore Inscriptions	179	...	...	...
Total ...	15	17	9	1=42

It has not been possible to identify S'rīvalipputtūr Dēva who is stated to have nominated an accountant to the pagoda of Tiruvighnē'svara in the Kalakkādu village of the Tirunelveli district in *Vibhava* (S'. 689) according to an inscription in the temple of Jamadagnīs'varasvāmi. *Cf.* No. 278-Z-2 in Rangacharya's list for Tinnevelly district in Vol. III. P. 1471.

Inscription No. 180 in Prof. Rangacharya's list stated to have been found in the possession of a Brāhmin of the *pūrvasika* sect is a copper-plate grant which was fully edited by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.[41] It is dated S'.1474, *Virōdhikṛt* corresponding to A.D. 1552 recording that Abhirāma Pāṇḍya, *i e.* Varatuṅga Rāma, the son and grandson respectively of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Abirāma Pāṇḍya gifted the village of Ksīrārjunapuram in Mallinādu to a number of Brāhmins during a solar eclipse on a *s'ravaṇa nakṣatra* day of the *uttaṇāyana puṇyakāla* in the *hēmantaṛtu*. It is engraved on a set of three copper-plates with the letters cut deep and neat. The single word *tulyam* appears in large types at the end. The citation was found to be in grantha characters and had some prominent orthographical peculiarities. The gist of the grant is that in the year S'. 1474 denoted by the chronogram *Visivandya* corresponding to the cyclic year *Virōdhikrit* in the *uttarāyaṇa* in the *hēmantaṛtu* when the sun was in *makara* in the dark fortnight

41. T. A. Gopinatha Rao: '*S'rīvilliputtūr plates of Abhirāma Pāṇḍya*' *Travancore Archæological Series.* Vol. 1. 1910–13; Pp, 106-114. (No. XI).

on a New-Moon day combined with the *nāgakaraṇa* and *vyatipāta* when the moon was in the constellation of *s'ravaṇa* on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse, King Abhirāma Pāṇḍya made the village Kṣīrārjunapuram into an *agrahāram* named Parākrama Pāṇḍyapura.

Parākrama Pāṇḍyapura, the name of the place appears to have been chosen after the king's father and it is likely it was already granted to the Brāhmins by some of the predecessors of the king. Three kings are mentioned, namely, Abhirāma Pāṇḍya (a brother of Āhavarāma) and his son Kulas'ēkhara Parākrama Asvati (1543-1552 A.D.) and grandson Varatuṅgarāma (1588—1609 A.D.) known before his coronation as Abhirāma and Abhirāma Sundarēs'vara.[42]

Ksīrārjunapuram has not been identified. Gopinatha Rao remarked " It is a bad guess to locate it " but he drew pointed attention to the boundaries, *viz.* the road to Madura was fixed as the boundary on the east, the middle of the tank of the Kāli on the South, the channel of that tank on the west and the tank of S'rī Dēvi on the north. It is clear from the above description that it was an *agrahāra* settled with boundaries.[43] So far as I can judge from the description of the boundaries the place could be located at Nathampatty which was formerly known as Muthugopalasamudram on the Madurai road where a small stream called *Arjunandi* still flows.

The grant was made to eighteen chief Brāhmins of Kṣīrārjunapuram and bears the names of the donees. It also contains the names of the donees' fathers with their gotras (*Koundiṇya*, *Salavata*, *Gavistra*, *Kapympirasa*, *Vacya*, *Kas'yapa*, *Bharadvāja*, *Harita*, *Vis'vāmitra*, *Gamagayana* and *Mudgala*) with their sūtras such as *Āpasthambha*, *Bodhāyana*, *Ās'valāyana*, *Jaimini* and *Kātyāyana*. *Ās'valāyana* mentioned third predominating as more than half the donees belong to that sūtra.

Several Sanskrit Manuscripts from S'rīvilliputtūr have been catalogued by Dr. Gustav Oppert in his monumental "*Lists of*

42 K. A. Nilakantha Sastri. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.* P. 239. (Genealogical Tree).

43. *Travancore Archæological Series.* Vol. 1. Pp. 113-114.

Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India."[44] The learned doctor lists 377 from six persons as indicated here, *viz*.

Amāl Ayangār	...	6
Annāsvāmi	...	244
Raghavachāryār	...	16
Kāsinavēndai Srinivāsa Iyyangār	...	35
Vidvān Srī Rangācharyār	...	76
Total	...	377

Coming back to the inscriptions in Rangacharya's list the inscriptions considered to be of value by Lewis Rice are a couple of inscriptions on the southern side of the S'rī Āndāl temple referred to as Nos. 177 and 177-A in Rangacharya's list.[45] The first one refers to the grant by Vīra Valivanātha Rāyar of the Madurai country in S'.1453 and the second by Valivanāthi (Mahābali Vananātha) Rāyar in S'.1476 of lands situated in Sundaranallūr mentioned in No. 178-N, a village which has been named after Sundara Tol Mahā Vilivanātha Rāyar, the eldest of the illegitimate sons of a mistress of a Pāṇḍya chief who ruled for forty-eight years.[46] This is the Vilivanātha dynasty which was dispossessed by Narasa Nāyaka according to Sri Tala manuscript.

Several inscriptions refer to the numerous endowments to the temples of the place. Two inscriptions (178-A and B) in the *ardhamaṅtapam* of the S'rī Āndāl temple show that Mahābali Bāna Rāja gave the village of Tiruvānganallūr and some jewellery to the shrine in S'.1355 (*S'rīmukha*). Another inscription (178-C) refers to the gift in *Samvat* 1399, *Hevilambi* (1477 A. D.) by the same donor of the Māngudi hamlet to the shrine. Among the other grants recorded there are two (178-E and 179-A) from Vīra Pāṇḍya Dēva recording the gift of the Vayūr village and certain other lands. Kulas'ēkhara Dēva made a gift of a village in

44. *Cf*. Vol, 1. Pp. 443-461 (Serial Nos. 5469-5845).

45. Robert Sewell: *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, 1884. Pp. 62-63, 1453 and 1376.

46. J. H. Nelson. *Madura Country*, III, P. 83.

Nandana (178-F) and in the twentieth year of his reign of some lands in the Vīrāmakulam village to Pallikoṇḍa perumal (179-C). This donor in the *s'aka* year 1456 *Jaya*, corresponding to 1534 A.D. made a grant of twenty-one *tūms* of rice and 100 *palams* of curry every month for the *neyvedana* of the deity (178-H). Inscription No. 178-I found on a stone near S'ēnamudaliār shrine records a grant made in the second regnal year of the same king for offering of rice to the goddess and to the worshippers. Sadās'ivarāya's grant of the village of Puliankulam [47] is dated S'.1472, *Sādhāraṇa* (1550 A.D.) and inscription 178-M on a stone north of S'rī Āndāl temple records his gift of the village of Pattarungull in the same year.

Sundara S'ōla Dēva gave in S'.1398, *Durmukhi*, (1476 A.D.), the village of Sundaranallūr and a golden chair to the goddess S'rī Āndāl (Inscription No. 178-N) and one Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍayān gave the village called "Culculloor" in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam (178-O). Another donor, Narasimharāja Udaiyar (probably from the Mysore territory) gave in S'.1375, *S'rīmukhā* (1453 A.D.) some lands in the Tenkarai and Vadakarai villages to the same goddess. (178-P).

It is recorded in a stone inscription in the Vatapatrasayanar temple that one S'aṅkaramuḍaiyān gifted some land to the God in the reign of Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān, (178-Q) and inscription 178-X records the gift by Parākrama Pāṇḍya of the village of Pāpāgni to Pallikoṇḍaruliya Paramas'vami, *i.e.* S'rī Vatapatrasayanar and S'uddikudutta Nācciyār, *i.e.* S'rī Āndāl, the presiding deities of the two temples. Another inscription (179) is a Cēra grant recording the gift to the god and the goddess of the village Parāntakanallūr by Vīra Udaya Mārthānda Varmā.

Sundara Pāṇḍya Dēva gave the village of Cadarattore to S'ri Āndāl according to inscription 179-B in Rangacharya's list while inscription 179-H mentions that in the eleventh year of his reign, Gangadhara and Trivikrama gave a quarter *putti* of ghee for lighting lamps in the temple.

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47. H. Heras; *The Aravīdu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Vol. 1.P. 42.

A stone inscription in the inner temple of the Vaidyanātha-s'vāmi Kovil in Madvārvilāgam (179-L) records the grant by Vīra Pāṇḍya Dēva of some dry lands in Karunkulam to that god in the second year of his reign, *i.e.* the same year of his other grants mentioned above. Inscription 179-M in the same place records the grant of Rājasingapur to the god in S'.1456, *Jaya* (1534 A.D.).

The solitary inscription in the Kṛṣṇa temple marked 179-U in Rangacharya's list is of importance as it enables us to know when the temple was erected. This inscription is near the Tirumala-sayana Mântapam and records that Visvanātha Nāyaka, Vīrappa Nāyaka and Krishnappa Nāyaka built the temple in the year *Bhava*, set up the idols of Rukmiṇi, Satyabhāma and S'rī Kṛṣṇa and also duly endowed some lands for the up-keep of the temple. On a reference to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Chronology [48] it is found that the cyclic year *Bhava* occurred during Vīrappa Nāyaka's life-time in 1574 A. D. which, therefore, is the date of the erection of the Kṛṣṇa temple.

It has not been possible to identify all the villages mentioned in the various grants. A number of grants mention as donor one Konerinmaikoṇḍan after whom perhaps the Kōnēri lake in the Veṅkates'varapuram suburb is named. Two grants are attributed to Bhuvana Cakravarti but both are described as having been found in a damaged condition and it has not been possible to obtain information about the identity of the personages mentioned in the grants.

Two inscriptions from S'rīvilliputtūr are mentioned in the Travancore Archæological Report for 1930-31.[49] They are dated *Ādi* 16, M.E. 709 (Wednesday *Pañcami, Uttira*) which corresponds to S'.1455 or 1533 A.D. One inscription is on the southern wall of the Vatapatrasayanar temple, recording that while the king S'aṅkara Narayaṇa Venrumān Koṇḍa Bhūtala Vīra Udaya Mārthānda Varman of Tiruppapur [50] was staying at

48. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai: *Indian Chronology*. Table I.

49. *Travancore Archæological Report* 1930-31, Pp. 1-2 & 18.

50. This Udaya Mārthānda Varman was the ruler of Travancore who fought successfully against Acyuta Rāya on the banks of the Tambraparṇi river. The Valliyoor grant should be considered to be a thanks offering for the victory.

Valliyoor he made the gift of a land for conducting the service called *Sattippallam Vīra Mārthāndan Sandhi* in the temple of the goddess, for feeding thirty-three Brāhmins daily in the Vīra Marthānda Mantapam which is also called as the Tiruvenkatadāsan Mantapam and for special worship on the day of the *Svāti nakṣatra* every month.

It has not been possible to identify the Vīra Mārthānda Mantapam referred to in the inscription quoted above nor is it known if the special services cited in the inscription are being conducted now. It is also a moot point if the name Tiruveṅkatadāsan Mantapam has anything to do with the Tiruvēṇgaḍamuḍayān of inscription 178-O in Rangacharya's list which mentions the grant of the village Culculloor in Cōḷamaṇḍalam by a person of that name. Unfortunately the inscription mentioned in Rangacharya's list bears no date. But we may, however, recall that *svāti nakṣatra* referred to is the asterism under which Periālwār was born and perhaps it was the asterism of the donor also.

The second inscription referred to in the Travancore Archæological Report comes from S'rī Āṇdāl Temple found on the base of the northern wall of the central shrine. It records the same gift mentioned in the first grant but makes an additional mention of the boundaries of the land endowed.

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REVIEWS

Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern—By: Ad. E. Jensen. Wiesbaden (Franz Steiner Verlag), 1951, Pp. 423—Price DM 24,80.

AN approach to the understanding of "primitive religion" is here being made, which is as new, in the century-old history of Western European anthropology, as it was common to that of ancient Egypt, China, India or Greece: Myths and religious ritual of pre-literate societies and other out-groups are here being taken seriously. They are considered as real approaches to real facts of life;—not as the clumsy attempts of child-like and illogically guessing savages, trying to understand life,—nor as the aberrations of degenerates, as either of which most other, previously formulated, Western theories interpreted pre-literate religion. Professor Jensen feels that neither of these interpretations does justice to the technological, psychological and, generally speaking ethical achievements of primitive societies and individuals. He examines his predecessors in the anthropological interpretation of religious concepts, beginning with Tylor for whom he has great regard, as a revolutionary genius in his days; whose scientific vigour was beyond dispute. Stress is also laid on Tylor's honesty which led him to admit that there are no people known who, though believing in souls, would altogether lack the notion of the divine; as Tylor's animist theory would postulate. Here begins Jenson's major objection to the concept of primeval "animism". Tylor's theory assumes that early man believed, first in the existance of souls, spirits or ghosts and then,—searching for them a causative principle,—invented the concept of God. This, accord-to Jensen, is a naive projection of the scientific procedure on pre-literate societies. Tylor himself lived, and thought, in this scientific mode;—but scarcely the "primitives" whom he tried to interpret. Professor Jensen also points out, quite rightly, that such an assumed search for the causative principle runs counter, not only to the spirit, but even to the letter of "primitive" religions, as

we know them. In fact most known religions start with the concept of the divine, to whom the ever increasing multiplicity of other invisible beings owes its existence. Yet, Jensen quotes, and discusses, Tylor's main thesis and observations, which he considers throughout the book, as a major contribution to anthropological thought. The author, however, is a little less patient with the theory of pre-animist " primitive magism ", the most prominent representative of which is Professor K. Th. Preuss, whose merits in other fields the author also acknowledges, but whom he accuses of sticking here to a juvenile theory which presupposes *urdummheit*, a kind of almost incredible stupidity, as the moving factor for mankind's most cherished emotions: religion and art (pp. 252 *seq.* 406).

The third hypothesis on the origin of religion, Andrew Lang's primordial Monotheism, elaborated by P. W. Schmidt and the Viennese School, is valued as the first theoretical attempt to free Western anthropology from its unwarranted bias against the reasonableness and moral maturity of primitive humanity. The author shares on the whole the concept of primeval monotheism. He agrees that early religion must have been the most earnestly and seriously undertaken attempt, made by full-fledged, human beings, to understand life and live it humanly. So far, so good. But, the author points out, here stopped the appreciative understanding even of the primeval monotheism-theoricians. They attribute reasonableness and reality values to the religious quest of primitive monotheists,—but deny the same qualities to the religious concepts of other, polytheistic and pre-literate societies whom they held to be mental degenerates, sunk into utter ignorance and superstition, but for some survivals from their primevally monotheistic past.

Professor Jensen denies this allegation on the strength of his own field experiences among the Kiwai, Marind—Anim and other East-Indonesian plant-cultivators whom he studied in W. Ceram and the Southern Coast of New Guinea. It is here (pp. 113, *seq.*) that the creative part of Jensen's work begins.

The *Dema*-deities who receive the foremost attention of these Indonesian plant-cultivators, are taken, by the author, as the paradigma for a polytheistic, type of divine beings for whom he finds rich parallels in ethnographic descriptions of other cultures, African, American, or Oceanic. Parallels with Indian mythology, especially connected with the *soma* complex, though scarcely elaborated in this book (p. 212), are discussed at greater length, by the author, in another publication on the same theme (*Das Weltbild einer fruehen Kultur*, in "Paideuma", Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1944). Discussions of the Elevsian mystery-cults are also incorporated in the present volume (p. 221).

This main part of the work, concerned with the *Dema*-deities, would have allowed further enrichment, and deepening of insight, had the author made use of what we know about the matrilineal structure of early plant-cultivating societies, and its socio-religious implications.

Many other religious, or semi-religious phenomena in different societies are discussed with the same open-mindedness. Scientific dogmatism so far denied reality values to all experiences which form the basis for shamanism (pp. 284, *seq.*), benevolent or malevolent magic (pp. 302, 307 and especially p. 309), manism and ancestor cults (p. 357 *seq.*), or the attitudes towards spirits, ghosts, goblins and similar, for us, at least, invisible, beings.

Discussing the theoretical possibility of actual reality values, inherent in all these and similar beliefs,—the author yet remains well within the limits of scientific neutrality and detachment from credulity. He stresses that the Western approach to such questions, as the actuality of life after death, invisible beings (pp. 350, *seq.*), or factual effects, resulting from magic activities (pp. 369, 373), may never succeed in experiencing and proving the alleged phenomena,—but it can also not disprove them, at least not in our present state of lacking experience; positive or negative.

To the Indian reader it may sound a little surprising to find this open-minded author yet excluding astrology from his tolerant neutrality (pp. 321-23), on the ground that this approach to the reality of life was out of tune with contemporary living civilizations.

This book could, on the other hand, provide much useful information in details and, what is more, an altogether new and fruitful approach to the study of many other aspects of Indian religious, contemporary, historic and pre-historic. It is therefore hoped that an English edition may be published soon. Such an edition could with advantage reduce repetitions and perhaps rearrange the text-matter in such a way as to bring important theoretical and critical discussions (pp. 309, 370, 373-74, etc.), now placed at the end, or middle of the book, to its beginning.

These, however, are minor remarks, or suggestions, not meant to detract from the importance of this work: namely the attempt to see the majority of pre-literate men and women as intelligent and succesfully living beings,—instead of either as semi-human, pre-logic barbarians, or else as superstitious degenerates, sunk in ignorance and evil.

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